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ABSTRACT

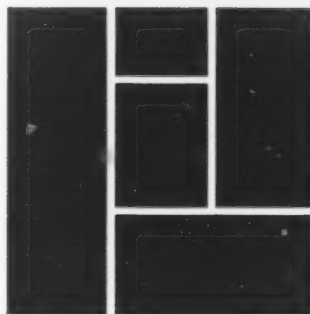
The barriers of housing segregation have been reinforced for blacks living in central-city ghettos by the process of metropolitan decentralization, which has moved most whites beyond social contact, and most employment beyond reach of available public transportation. Despite gains in the number of blacks who found housing in the suburbs in the 1970s, the great majority of metropolitan blacks (71 percent) remain concentrated in the central cities of the largest Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, and their number is increasing as a proportion of the population. While whites have steadily migrated from the cities to the suburbs, blacks have steadily moved from the suburbs to the cities. Since World War II, employment, particularly blue collar employment, has left the central cities for suburban locations along regional highway networks. During the past 40 years, nearly two out of every three new jobs created have been in the suburbs of metropolitan areas, and most are not accessible by public transportation. These dramatic changes in the distribution of the population have profoundly altered patterns of access, and have produced increasing isolation among those without access to an automobile. In this group, blacks are greatly overrepresented. A list of 45 references is included. Extensive statistical data are included on 13 tables. (FMW)

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TRANSIT DEPENDENCE
AND THE EMPLOYMENT ISOLATION OF
CENTRAL CITY BLACK WORKERS

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BLACK WORKERS

Draft
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by Yale Rabin

Summary and Overview

The old adage which holds that success is largely a matter of "being in the right place at the right time" expresses a fundamental, if oversimplified truth, about the status of blacks in the U.S. . Racial restrictions on their choice of place remain a central element of their predicament, particularly for those in central-city ghettos without access to an automobile. For them the barriers of housing segregation have been reinforced by the process of metropolitan decentralization, which has moved most whites beyond social contact, and most employment opportunities beyond reach of available public transportation.

Despite dramatic gains in the numbers of blacks who found housing in the suburbs of a small number of metropolitan areas during the decade of the seventies (Rabin 1983), the great majority of metropolitan area blacks (71%) remain concentrated in the central cities of mainly the largest SMSA's (Culver, 1982). There they have continued to increase as a proportion of the population (Long and DeAre, 1981). While the steady outmigration of whites from central cities to suburbs has been a major factor contributing to this growing concentration of blacks in the

cities, there has also been a concurrent out-migration of blacks from suburbs to central cities which continued at significant levels during the seventies (Nelson, 1979). And since World War II while the black population has concentrated in the central cities, white population and employment, particularly blue collar employment, have left the central cities for suburban locations along the growing regional highway networks. During the past forty years, nearly two out of every three new jobs created have been in the suburbs of metropolitan areas, and most are not accessible by public transportation. These dramatic changes in the distribution of population and land-use have profoundly altered patterns of access and have produced increasing isolation among those without access to an automobile. In this group blacks are greatly overrepresented.

The Emergence of Isolation

Before the development of urban transportation, the growth of cities was constrained by the need to maintain pedestrian access between home and virtually all daily destinations. The introduction of the horse-drawn omnibus in the early nineteenth century enabled some to separate home and workplace by moving housing out of the center, thus extending the limits of development outward along the new transit routes. As travel speeds increased with the development of electric motor power and the internal combustion engine in the late nineteenth century,

public transportation services proliferated and new development, mainly residential, reached still further out along the radial roads and trolley routes. Industrial development grew within the cities, and at the focal point of transit routes in the center great concentrations of commercial activity emerged to form the central business districts (CBD's). For nearly a hundred years until World War II this pattern of economic growth was accompanied by a steady expansion of transit services providing high levels of access to employment for central city workers.

During the past forty years this pattern of urban development has changed dramatically. The century-long process of outward growth from a strong center has been transformed into a process of metropolitan decentralization which has drained both population and economic activity out of the central cities. As a consequence metropolitan area workers must travel greater distances to work; public transportation systems, most of which converge in central business districts, have become increasingly ineffective as means of access to the new widely scattered suburban locations of economic activity; and the ability to satisfy basic needs and share in the diverse opportunities of the metropolis has become contingent on the availability of an automobile.

Increased auto-dependence and declining public transportation patronage are the by-products of dispersed metropolitan

development which, in turn, is largely a consequence of federal transportation policies. These policies, under the influence of highway-related industrial interests (Mowbray, 1969; Leavitt, 1970; Yago, 1984) have for decades been dominated by the narrow objective of reducing traffic congestion (Rabin, 1980). While economic and social forces have provided the impetus for decentralization, the highway system has been instrumental in determining the locations of development (National Commission on Urban Problems, 1968; Moynihan, 1971; Stanback & Knight, 1976; President's National Urban Policy Report, 1978; Muller, 1981). Even the prior existence of rail transit converging in the CBD has not been enough of a countervailing influence on the locations of a new metropolitan development or the relocation of existing uses.

In fact some of the most striking examples of central city decline and decentralization occurred in those older metropolitan areas which have long been served by rail transit (Meyer, Kain, and Wohl, 1965). More recently in some rail-served cities - most notably Boston and New York - earlier retail and blue collar job losses have been offset by the creation of large numbers of new jobs in predominantly information-processing establishments in the CBD (Kasarda, 1987). And in Atlanta, Washington, and San Francisco new radial rail transit systems have also effectively contributed to the development of increased white collar employment in the CBD's.

Outside the cities two important factors have contributed to the dominant influence of highway construction on metropolitan development patterns: 1) Federal highway officials have consistently given tacit approval to the widespread non-compliance by state highway departments with Congressionally-mandated metropolitan development standards (Morehouse, 1967; U.S. D.O.T., 1971; Rabin, 1980); and 2) no statutory or institutional relationship exists between the planning and construction of federally funded highways by state agencies and the regulation of land-use by local government.

Given the Balkanization of metropolitan areas, most local governments compete without restraint for tax-generating development. In so doing many have sought to exploit rapidly increasing land values created by the fortuitous locations of access points to the highway network by zoning land to maximize municipal fiscal benefits. The sprawling patterns of dispersed commercial and industrial development produced by this process of ad hoc opportunism have undermined the viability of public transportation systems bringing about massive declines in ridership and service and establishing auto availability as the threshold of transportation access to most employment destinations.

The Emergence of Concern

The economic impacts of decentralization on metropolitan areas in general and on central-city blacks in particular has been extensively examined. Yet relatively little has been done to measure the changing means and levels of access to the dispersed locations of suburban employment. Widespread concern over this issue developed initially in response to the violent racial eruptions which occurred in the ghettos of many cities during the nineteen-sixties. The McCone Commission, which investigated the causes of the riots in the Watts area of Los Angeles in 1965 found that:

...inadequate and costly public transportation currently existing throughout the Los Angeles area seriously restricts the residents of the disadvantaged areas such as south central Los Angeles. This lack of adequate transportation handicaps them in seeking and holding jobs, attending schools, shopping and fulfilling other needs (p. 65).

In response to this concern HUD funded the establishment of pilot projects in more than a dozen cities that to provided bus service between central-city ghetto areas and suburban employment. Funding was provided for a few years, after which these projects were closed down. Despite the fact that these projects were undertaken to improve employment opportunities, "...when the subsidy funds were used up, the only criteria that determined whether a line should be continued was whether or not it rendered a profit to the operator". (Falcochio and Cantilli, 1974, p. 47). Given the fact that even the most heavily patronized transit systems are not self-supporting, the termination of these

projects is hardly suprising.

While preoccupation with profitability may have prevented adequate evaluations of social benefits by federal sponsors, other observers, using different criteria, concluded that the pilot bus services had positive effects. In a study of two of these projects in Long Island, New York and Los Angeles, California, it was found that for the majority of riders the service made it possible to obtain and retain employment (Falcochio and Cantilli, 1974).

The academic community also responded to the expressions of concern about the employment isolation of ghetto blacks. A seminal paper by John Kain in 1968 provided the frame of reference. Kain examined the hypothesis that racial segregation and the suburbanization of employment interact to reduce employment opportunities for central city blacks. His study of the Chicago and Detroit metropolitan areas concluded that:

...continued high levels of Negro unemployment in a full employment economy may be partially attributed to the rapid and adverse (for the Negro) shifts in the location of jobs. (pp 196-97).

Kain's paper elicited considerable response for nearly a decade from sociologists, economists and geographers. While the details of those studies are beyond the scope of this discussion, it is important to understand that the focus of Kain's study and of most of what followed was on the significance of inaccessibility as a factor affecting central city black unemployment, and not on

the degree to which suburban jobs were inaccessible to central city blacks. Lack of access was generally assumed to be a factor, and was examined in relation to other relevant factors such as race, age, sex, education, housing segregation, employment discrimination, etc.. Also significant is the fact that all of these studies were based on data from 1970 or earlier.

Among the many issues raised by these papers, two recurrent findings are most relevant to the issue of accessibility. Some investigators (see for example: Floyd, 1968; Mooney, 1969; Goering, 1971; Harrison, 1972; Bederman and Adams, 1974) found that accessibility was less important an influence on black unemployment than other factors such as lack of worker qualifications, or racial discrimination by employers. Still others (see for example: Kalacheck and Goering, 1970; Noll, 1970; Harrison, 1974) found problems of inaccessibility to suburban jobs more than adequately offset by the availability of entry-level jobs in the central cities. It is interesting to note that even while reaching this conclusion Kalacheck and Goering acknowledge that the proportion of jobs inaccessible to workers without cars is growing (p. 4). In addition, Wheeler (1974) noted that while ghetto areas are generally highly accessible to central business districts, they have the weakest travel connections to locations in the suburbs and on the fringe. Nevertheless, the findings and conclusions of these and related

studies done during that brief period of heightened concern provide, for present purposes, an unreasonably restricted view of the scope and importance of the issue of employment isolation because:

- 1) The process of decentralization has continued during the seventies and eighties; and the proportion of metropolitan employment which is suburban is by now well over half in many metropolitan areas.

- 2) Neither improvements in worker qualifications nor reductions in racial discrimination by employers can make isolated jobs more accessible to the transit dependent.

- 3) Whether or not isolation from suburban jobs adversely affects unemployment or income levels among central-city blacks, the persistence of isolation reinforces the racial separation of society by adding segregated workplaces to already segregated neighborhoods and schools.

More recently, other studies have attributed more importance to the problem of economic isolation. Hutchinson (1978) found that the availability of an automobile tended to increase labor force participation among central-city blacks; and Gillard (1979) noted that commuting to suburban employment tended to increase incomes among central city black workers. A study of the Detroit metropolitan area revealed that as early as 1965, over half of all lower-skill jobs were not accessible by public transportation within one hour from central city core districts (Shanahan, 1976). In the Kansas City metropolitan area it was found that,

despite an overall increase of over 120,000 jobs between 1963 and 1976, the number of jobs accessible by transit declined, during that period, by over 7,800 (Rabin, 1979). Most recently Farley (1987) has found "...that Black and Hispanic male unemployment is higher relative to that of Whites where jobs are most suburbanized and minority population least so" (p. 129).

These indications of the persistent and growing significance of economic isolation are reinforced by other evidence. Between 1960 and 1980 the percentage of metropolitan area workers working in the suburban rings increased from 35% to 47% (Table 1); between 1970 and 1980 the number of work trips from central cities to places of employment in the suburban rings increased by over 25% (Table 1). Yet during that same period the number of those trips made by transit declined by nearly a third. As a proportion of all work trips from central city to the ring, trips by transit fell from 10.9% in 1970 to 4.7% in 1980. This decline in transit commuting from central city to ring accounted for approximately one fifth of the nearly 500,000 net decline in all transit trips nationally during the decade of the seventies; and the balance of the overall decline has been attributed mainly to continuing declines in CBD shares of metropolitan employment (Hendrickson, 1986).

Although it may be widely believed that these changes in ridership are mainly an expression of unrestricted consumer

choice, there is evidence to suggest that this is not so. Based on an examination of journey to work data from the 1980 Annual Housing Survey, it was reported that only 13% of all workers indicated that they would prefer to commute by private vehicle (car, truck or van), and 75% of those who commuted by private vehicle indicated that they did not use transit because it was not available or not conveniently accessible (Fulton, 1983). It seems reasonable, therefore, to infer that the number of suburban workplaces accessible by public transportation from the central city is extremely small and getting smaller; and that these changes are attributable to some combination of changes in workplace locations and reductions in levels of transportation services.

The data strongly suggest that in most metropolitan areas most jobs are beyond the reach of the transit dependent, among whom blacks are disproportionately represented. In 1980, nearly two out of every five central city black households (39%) were without access to an automobile. Among white central city households, fewer than one out of five (18.5%) faced this handicap. Between 1970 and 1980, while the number of transit-dependent white households decreased, there was an increase in the number of transit-dependent black households (Table 5). The data also suggest that transit dependence is a significantly greater problem for women than for men, and in particular for black women (Table 10). Some of the disparity in levels of

automobile ownership appear to be offset by a higher rate of carpooling among blacks than whites. In 1980, among central city workers commuting to jobs in the suburbs, approximately 26% of blacks and 21% of whites travelled in carpools, while 58% of blacks and 72% of whites drove alone (see Table 10). Among workers who lived in central cities 26% of blacks and 11% of whites commuted to work by public transportation in 1980 (Table 8).

Regional and Metropolitan Differences

Here it is important to note that these conditions are far from uniformly distributed. There are substantial economic, demographic and spatial differences among regions and metropolitan areas, and great differences in the availability of transit service and levels of ridership (Table 7, and Briggs, et al, 1986). Of the 6.2 million daily commuting trips in 1980 over half were in five of the largest SMSA's, and about a third were in New York City (Pisarski, 1987). While overall transit commuting to work declined nationally by about ten percent between 1970 and 1980 (Pisarski, 1987), some metropolitan areas experienced steep declines, while in others there were increases in transit commuting. In general, both the highest levels of transit use and the greatest declines in ridership are to be found in the older, former industrial centers of the Northeast and North Central Regions; and both the increases in transit

ridership and the lowest levels of transit use are in the newer metropolitan centers of the South and West (Table 7, and Briggs, et al, 1986). Many of the increases recorded in these regions result from the introduction of intra-suburban transit service where none existed before, and not from the provision of service from central city to suburbs (Pucher, 1982). It is also interesting to note that automobile ownership appears to vary with metropolitan setting as well as income. In a study of eleven large SMSA's, it was found that suburban low-income households (incomes under \$4,000) owned automobiles at seven times the rate of households with similar incomes in central cities (Foley, 1975).

Disproportionate Black Impacts

Rates of transit dependency and transit use are more than twice as high among blacks than among whites; and with a few important exceptions, metropolitan blacks are generally most heavily concentrated in those central cities which have experienced the greatest losses of manufacturing employment to the suburbs, and the greatest declines in the use of public transportation for the journey to work. For example, the cities of New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Detroit had the largest black populations of all cities in 1980, accounting for nearly 30% of all blacks living in central cities in the U.S. While the percentage of

metropolitan area blacks nationally who lived in central cities in 1980 was approximately 71%, these four cities each housed over 80% of their SMSA black population.

Between 1972 and 1982 manufacturing job losses in these cities were: New York - 30%, Chicago - 47%, Philadelphia - 38%, and Detroit - 41% (Kasarda, 1987). From 1948 to 1977 these four cities lost nearly a million manufacturing jobs (Kasarda, 1985) in a pattern of decline which similarly affected other cities in the Northeast and North Central Regions in which blacks are heavily concentrated.

Although the net decline in transit work trips nationally between 1970 and 1980 was just under 500,000, the aggregate decline in these four cities was over 600,000 and accounted for 70% of all the declines which occurred (Briggs et al, 1986; Fulton, 1983). During that period, transit commuting in New York fell by 17.2%, in Chicago by 12.6%, in Philadelphia by 28.1%, and in Detroit by 49% (Fulton, 1983). Among these four cities, only Detroit had a level of transit dependence (37%) near the national average for black central city households in 1980 (39%). In New York, Chicago and Philadelphia, where transit dependence among black households is disproportionately high, the percentages were respectively: 67.4%, 45.1%, and 50.9% (Table 12).

Implications for Further Study

The evidence suggest that declining transit access to suburban employment is a significant problem, and that the greatest declines have occurred in those metropolitan areas in whose central cities the largest numbers of transit dependent blacks live. Nevertheless, the dimensions of this problem and its broader implications are not adequately known. While the data on declining transit access is persuasive, little is known, for example, about the numbers of suburban jobs reasonably accessible by automobile from central city core areas and how those numbers have been and are changing.

Because of the wide-ranging differences among metropolitan areas, only individual area studies can provide satisfactory answers to the basic questions which remain. Such studies should focus on a limited number of metropolitan areas in which blacks are most heavily concentrated, and should be directed at a few policy related issues:

1) Accessibility

- a. How many jobs (preferably by skill level) are feasibly accessible (based on some reasonable and uniform criteria) by transit, and by automobile from central city ghetto areas?
- b. How have these relationships changed over time, and what are the implications of these trends?

2) Transit Dependence

- a. How does transit dependence affect job searches? (by race and sex)
- b. How does transit dependence affect labor force participation? (by race and sex)
- c. What is the relationship between declining rates of transit dependence and declining levels of transit access to employment?

These studies should be closely coordinated with examinations of concurrent changes in the occupational structure, rates of unemployment, and income distribution among central-city black workers.

Beyond these question, there remains the inevitable issue of policy responses. Here again, metropolitan differences suggest that the potential for feasible transit-related responses will vary widely within narrow limits. Given the well established dispersed character of suburban development, there are probably relatively few situations in which employment isolation would be significantly reduced in the short term by the initiation of new transit service. Nevertheless, every such opportunity should be explored, and where possible, developed.

In the longer term it may be possible to achieve an incremental rationalization of land uses in relation to existing transportation facilities, particularly underutilized rail lines.

Such a policy, if based on a transportation capacity related system of land-use regulations, could lead to the formation of critical masses of employment and housing sufficient to warrant the provision of rail transit services along existing rights of way. Where such potentials do not exist and employment is more dispersed, some program for facilitating auto ownership among the currently low-income transit dependent may be the only solution.

With respect to housing strategies, the long-overdue elimination of involuntary segregation and the creation of opportunities for low-income blacks to live in the suburbs would likely reduce problems of employment isolation for black workers with automobiles, but would not provide similar benefits to the transit dependent. In fact, despite other unquestionable social benefits, low-income black households, without access to an automobile, who obtain housing in the suburbs would have less transportation mobility than they had in the central city.

The Role of Government

It is clear that the employment isolation of transit-dependent central-city black workers is no longer a matter of concern to those who formulate and implement government transportation policy, and has not been for many years. The only significant response to this problem by the federal government was the series of short-lived pilot bus transit projects operated during the

late sixties and early seventies. With the benefit of hindsight one might readily conclude that the termination of those projects resulted - not so much from their failure to return a profit to their operators - but from the cynical observation by their federal sponsors that the violence and threats of violence had subsided in the cities.

A report by the National Transportation Policy Study Commission in 1978 identified what the Commission considered to be the twenty-five major issues in transportation. The last six issues were identified as "goal oriented" (p. 7) and among these number 24, "Regional and Community Development Through Transportation Policy" discusses the powerful influence of transportation facilities on land-use and development and acknowledges that, "Highways typically encourage decentralization of industry by decreasing short-haul transportation costs" (p. 39). The last issue, number 25, is designated "Mobility Rights" and is devoted almost entirely to the transportation needs of the elderly and the handicapped, and to strategies for improving their mobility. The only reference to the relationship between transportation facilities and access to employment is contained in a single unanswered question, "Is access to jobs, medical facilities, and public recreation an inherent right of all?" (p. 41). Government policies have been a major influence on the dispersed locations of metropolitan development, and on the consequent isolation from suburban employment of segregated, central city, transit-

dependent blacks. For this reason, and because only public action is capable of changing these conditions, government must accept its obligation to devise and implement strategies which will redress these inequities.

Finally it must be emphasized that such strategies can only be effective as integrated elements of a radically revised, land-use based, comprehensive planning policy in which transportation is recognized as a means, not an end. In such a policy the primary purpose of transportation facilities should be to contribute to the establishment and preservation of sound and desirable land uses, and enable safe, convenient and economical travel among them in a manner which is least disruptive of human activity and environmental quality. Such facilities should provide equitable levels of access to all, with particular attention to the travel needs of those least able to provide for their own mobility. In such a policy, social equity, environmental protection, and resource conservation would take appropriate precedence over the narrow, and otherwise unattainable, objective of accommodating traffic.

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TABLE 1

Place of Residence and Place of Work of All Workers and Black Workers in
Metropolitan Areas by Central City and Rings: 1960, 1970, 1980

All Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence

	Total			Work In Central City			Work In Ring		
	1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980
Live in Central City	20,329,252	21,241,325	25,105,016	18,301,306	17,871,278	20,878,973	2,027,946	3,370,047	4,226,043
Live In Ring	17,816,007	24,152,307	38,020,968	6,491,160	8,588,949	12,690,929	11,324,847	15,563,338	25,329,939
Total	38,145,259	45,393,632	63,125,884	24,792,466	26,460,227	33,569,902	13,352,793	18,933,405	29,555,982
% of Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	65.0	58.3	53.2	33.0	41.7	46.8

Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence

Live in Central City	3,209,073	3,584,672	4,392,053	2,908,556	2,992,118	3,666,698	300,517	592,644	725,355
Live In Ring	824,416	1,006,095	1,954,948	233,911	321,069	751,225	590,505	685,026	1,203,723
Total	4,033,489	4,590,767	6,347,001	3,142,467	3,313,187	4,417,923	891,022	1,277,670	1,929,078
% of Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	77.9	72.2	69.6	22.1	27.8	30.4

Sources: 1960 Census of Population, Detailed Characteristics, Table 216
1970 Census of Population, Special Subject Report, Low-Income Population, Table 26
1980 Census of Population, Characteristics of Workers in Metropolitan Areas, Table 1

8 Does not include workers who work outside SMSA of residence

TABLE 1A-1
New York City

Place of Residence and Place of Work of All Workers and Black Workers in
The New York City Metropolitan Area by Central City and Ring*: 1960, 1970, 1980

All Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence

	Total			Work In Central City			Work In Ring		
	1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980
Live in Central City	2,966,329	2,620,912	2,390,318	1,732,419	2,524,053	2,344,155	1,233,910	96,859	46,163
Live In Ring	978,253	1,190,792	778,949	307,742	333,897	189,788	667,511	856,885	589,161
Total	3,944,582	3,811,694	3,169,267	2,040,161	2,857,950	2,533,943	1,901,421	953,744	635,324
% of Total	100.0%	100.0	100.0%	51.7%	75.0%	80.0%	48.2%	25.0%	20.0%

Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence

Live in Central City	401,172	452,473	503,436	279,035	438,018	494,347	122,137	14,455	9,089
Live In Ring	53,870	63,925	54,114	5,595	9,157	12,086	48,275	54,768	42,028
Total	455,042	516,398	557,550	284,630	447,175	506,433	170,412	69,223	51,117
% of Total	100.0%	100.0	100.0%	62.6%	86.6%	90.8%	37.4%	13.4%	9.2%

Sources: 1960 Census of Population, Detailed Characteristics, Table 216
1970 Census of Population, Special Subject Report, Low-Income Population, Table 26
1980 Census of Population, Characteristics of Workers in Metropolitan Areas, Table 1

* Does not include workers who work outside SMSA of residence

TABLE 1A-2
Chicago

Place of Residence and Place of Work of All Workers and Black Workers in
The Chicago Metropolitan Area by Central City and Ring: 1960, 1970, 1980

All Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence

	Total 1960	1970	1980	Work In Central City			Work In Ring		
				1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980
Live in Central City	1,338,857	1,146,869	1,042,415	1,250,210	961,925	850,142	88,641	184,944	192,273
Live In Ring	946,188	1,288,112	1,764,192	327,443	349,437	397,574	618,745	938,615	1,366,618
Total	2,285,045	2,434,981	2,806,607	1,577,653	1,311,362	1,247,716	707,386	1,123,559	1,558,891
% of Total	100.0%	100.0	100.0%	69.0%	53.9%	44.5%	31.0%	46.1%	55.5%

Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence

Live in Central City	229,573	276,833	312,040	217,179	239,232	265,228	12,394	37,601	46,812
Live In Ring	24,759	37,620	73,817	4,069	6,234	19,409	20,690	31,386	54,408
Total	254,332	314,453	385,857	221,248	245,466	284,637	33,084	68,987	101,220
% of Total	100.0%	100.0	100.0%	87.0%	78.1%	73.8%	13.0%	21.9%	26.2%

Sources: 1960 Census of Population, Detailed Characteristics, Table 216
1970 Census of Population, Special Subject Report, Low-Income Population, Table 26
1980 Census of Population, Characteristics of Workers in Metropolitan Areas, Table 1

* Does not include workers who work outside SMSA of residence

TABLE 1A-3
Detroit

Place of Residence and Place of Work of All Workers and Black Workers in
The Detroit Metropolitan Area by Central City and Ring: 1960, 1970, 1980

All Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence

	Total			Work In Central City			Work In Ring		
	1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980
Live in Central City	558,300	458,342	326,084	461,594	311,358	214,087	96,706	146,984	111,997
Live In Ring	664,661	869,130	1,209,060	230,774	214,095	203,735	433,887	655,035	1,005,325
Total	1,222,961	1,327,472	1,535,144	692,368	525,453	417,822	530,593	802,019	1,117,322
% of Total	100.0%	100.0	100.0%	56.6%	39.6%	27.2%	43.4%	60.4%	72.8%

Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence

Live in Central City	126,026	174,971	160,511	106,116	120,419	125,993	19,910	54,522	54,518
Live In Ring	19,096	23,002	34,956	4,258	5,581	8,630	14,838	17,421	26,326
Total	145,122	197,973	195,467	110,374	126,000	134,623	34,748	71,943	80,844
% of Total	100.0%	100.0	100.0%	76.1%	63.5%	62.5%	23.9%	36.3%	37.5%

Sources: 1960 Census of Population, Detailed Characteristics, Table 216
1970 Census of Population, Special Subject Report, Low-Income Population, Table 26
1980 Census of Population, Characteristics of Workers in Metropolitan Areas, Table 1

* Does not include workers who work outside SMSA of residence

TABLE 1A-4
Philadelphia

Place of Residence and Place of Work of All Workers and Black Workers in
The Philadelphia Metropolitan Area by Central City and Ring: 1960, 1970, 1980

All Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence

	Total 1960	1970	1980	Work In Central City			Work In Ring		
				1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980
Live in Central City	722,825	610,523	546,186	670,920	539,535	473,938	51,905	70,988	72,248
Live In Ring	794,427	909,118	1,156,282	198,908	209,348	212,092	595,519	699,770	944,190
Total	1,517,252	1,519,641	1,702,468	869,828	748,883	686,030	647,424	770,758	1,016,438
% of Total	100.0%	100.0	100	57.3%	49.3%	40.3%	42.7%	50.7%	59.7%

Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence

Live in Central City	171,701	171,561	166,532	158,448	152,546	148,080	13,253	19,015	18,452
Live In Ring	45,912	48,366	72,581	4,564	6,851	14,182	41,348	41,515	58,399
Total	217,613	219,927	239,113	163,012	159,397	162,262	54,601	60,530	76,851
% of Total	100.0%	100.0	100.0%	74.9%	72.5%	67.9%	25.1%	27.5%	32.1%

Sources: 1960 Census of Population, Detailed Characteristics, Table 216
1970 Census of Population, Special Subject Report, Low-Income Population, Table 26
1980 Census of Population, Characteristics of Workers in Metropolitan Areas, Table 1

* Does not include workers who work outside SMSA of residence

TABLE 1A-5
Los Angeles

Place of Residence and Place of Work of All Workers and Black Workers in
The Los Angeles Metropolitan Area by Central City and Ring: 1960, 1970, 1980

All Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence

	Total			Work In Central City			Work In Ring		
	1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980
Live in Central City	1,056,543	975,084	1,048,421	827,648	698,825	766,892	228,895	276,259	281,529
Live In Ring	1,137,493	1,433,989	1,578,384	396,420	384,703	115,493	741,073	1,049,286	1,462,891
Total	2,194,036	2,409,073	2,626,805	1,224,068	1,083,528	882,385	969,968	1,325,545	1,744,420
% of Total	100.0%	100.0	100.0%	55.8%	45.0%	33.6%	44.2%	55.0%	66.4%

Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence

Live in Central City	150,908	137,351	153,447	124,697	100,220	107,937	26,211	37,131	45,510
Live In Ring	50,215	67,792	144,588	21,897	28,120	11,615	28,318	39,672	132,973
Total	201,123	205,143	298,035	146,594	128,340	119,552	54,529	76,803	178,483
% of Total	100.0%	100.0	100.0%	72.9%	62.6%	40.1%	27.1%	37.4%	59.9%

Sources: 1960 Census of Population, Detailed Characteristics, Table 216
1970 Census of Population, Special Subject Report, Low-Income Population, Table 26
1980 Census of Population, Characteristics of Workers in Metropolitan Areas, Table 1

* Does not include workers who work outside SMSA of residence

TABLE 1A-6
Washington, D.C.

Place of Residence and Place of Work of All Workers and Black Workers in
The Washington, D.C. Metropolitan Area by Central City and Ring: 1960, 1970, 1980

All Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence

	Total	Work In Central City			Work In Ring				
	1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980
Live in Central City	306,865	261,118	250,739	270,199	214,704	205,743	125,943	46,414	44,996
Live In Ring	451,235	1,025,576	1,133,537	213,135	268,008	302,572	238,100	757,568	824,965
Total	758,100	1,286,694	1,384,276	483,334	482,712	514,315	364,043	803,982	869,961
% of Total	100.0%	100.0	100.0%	63.8%	37.5%	37.2%	48.0%	62.5%	62.8%

Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence

Live in Central City	148,103	171,074	152,658	125,943	137,083	121,518	22,160	33,991	31,140
Live In Ring	26,616	54,222	174,104	5,903	21,218	50,768	20,713	33,004	123,336
Total	174,719	225,296	326,762	131,846	158,301	172,286	42,873	66,995	154,476
% of Total	100.0%	100.0	100.0%	75.5%	70.3%	52.7%	24.5%	29.7%	47.3%

Sources: 1960 Census of Population, Detailed Characteristics, Table 216
1970 Census of Population, Special Subject Report, Low-Income Population, Table 26
1980 Census of Population, Characteristics of Workers in Metropolitan Areas, Table 1

* Does not include workers who work outside SMSA of residence

TABLE 1A-7
Houston

Place of Residence and Place of Work of All Workers and Black Workers in
The Houston Metropolitan Area by Central City and Ring: 1960, 1970, 1980

All Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence

	Total			Work In Central City			Work In Ring		
	1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980
Live in Central City	329,189	431,912	404,521	314,686	394,566	336,408	14,503	37,346	68,113
Live In Ring	97,316	239,612	911,238	44,975	112,307	252,175	52,441	127,305	659,063
Total	426,505	671,524	1,315,759	359,361	506,873	588,583	66,944	164,651	727,176
% of Total	100.0%	100.0	100.0%	84.3%	75.5%	44.7%	15.7%	24.5%	55.3%

Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence

Live in Central City	72,779	95,471	97,852	69,996	87,423	83,807	2,792	6,048	14,045
Live In Ring	8,986	23,402	52,368	5,531	6,624	7,351	3,355	16,778	45,017
Total	81,664	118,873	150,220	75,527	94,047	91,158	6,137	24,826	59,062
% of Total	100.0%	100.0	100.0%	92.5%	79.1%	60.7%	7.5%	20.9%	39.3%

Sources: 1960 Census of Population, Detailed Characteristics, Table 216
1970 Census of Population, Special Subject Report, Low-Income Population, Table 26
1980 Census of Population, Characteristics of Workers in Metropolitan Areas, Table 1

* Does not include workers who work outside SMSA of residence

TABLE 1A-8
Baltimore

Place of Residence and Place of Work of All Workers and Black Workers in
The Baltimore Metropolitan Area by Central City and Ring: 1960, 1970, 1980

All Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence

	Total 1960	1970	1980	* Work In Central City			Work In Ring		
	1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980
Live in Central City	323,496	302,420	252,124	286,435	229,937	196,995	37,041	72,483	55,129
Live In Ring	267,980	415,514	549,579	103,668	135,851	180,964	154,312	279,663	368,615
Total	591,476	717,934	801,703	390,123	365,788	377,959	201,353	352,146	423,744
% of Total	100.0%	100.0	100.0%	66.0%	51.0%	47.1%	34.0%	49.0%	52.9%

Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence

Live in Central City	98,592	122,823	121,445	86,579	92,533	96,366	12,013	30,290	25,079
Live In Ring	16,106	20,951	43,280	2,192	4,036	17,190	13,914	16,915	26,090
Total	114,698	143,774	164,725	88,771	96,569	113,556	25,927	47,205	51,169
% of Total	100.0%	100.0	100.0%	77.4%	67.2%	68.9%	22.6%	32.8%	31.1%

Sources: 1960 Census of Population, Detailed Characteristics, Table 216
1970 Census of Population, Special Subject Report, Low-Income Population, Table 26
1980 Census of Population, Characteristics of Workers in Metropolitan Areas, Table 1

* Does not include workers who work outside SMSA of residence

TABLE 1A-9
New Orleans

Place of Residence and Place of Work of All Workers and Black Workers in
The New Orleans Metropolitan Area by Central City and Ring: 1960, 1970, 1980

All Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence

	Total	Work In Central City			Work In Ring				
	1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980
Live in Central City	200,975	180,149	182,533	192,304	157,565	156,213	8,671	22,584	26,320
Live In Ring	71,987	139,461	221,043	32,225	59,167	78,060	39,762	80,294	142,983
Total	272,962	319,610	403,576	224,529	216,732	234,273	48,433	102,878	169,303
% of Total	100.0%	100.0	100.0%	82.3%	67.8%	58.0%	17.7%	32.2%	42.0%

Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence

Live in Central City	64,378	65,941	83,517	61,899	58,009	72,193	2,479	7,932	11,324
Live In Ring	9,048	13,609	21,183	2,134	3,508	5,273	6,914	10,101	15,910
Total	73,426	79,550	104,700	64,033	61,517	77,466	9,393	18,033	27,234
% of Total	100.0%	100.0	100.0%	87.2%	77.3%	74.0%	12.8%	22.7%	26.0%

Sources: 1960 Census of Population, Detailed Characteristics, Table 216

1970 Census of Population, Special Subject Report, Low-Income Population, Table 26

1980 Census of Population, Characteristics of Workers in Metropolitan Areas, Table 1

* Does not include workers who work outside SMSA of residence

TABLE 1A-10

Memphis

Place of Residence and Place of Work of All Workers and Black Workers in
The Memphis Metropolitan Area by Central City and Ring: 1960, 1970, 1980

All Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence

	Total			Work In Central City			Work In Ring		
	1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980
Live in Central City	172,042	209,025	234,087	165,079	193,877	220,693	6,963	15,148	13,394
Live In Ring	42,000	48,638	100,870	19,008	19,350	54,104	22,992	29,288	46,766
Total	214,042	257,663	334,957	184,087	213,227	274,797	29,955	44,436	60,160
% of Total	100.0%	100.0	100.0%	86.0%	82.8%	82.0%	14.0%	17.2%	19.0%

Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence

Live in Central City	55,471	63,075	85,026	54,135	59,003	81,154	1,335	4,072	3,872
Live In Ring	10,549	9,100	13,082	4,572	2,989	4,321	5,977	6,111	3,761
Total	66,020	72,175	98,108	58,708	61,992	85,475	7,312	10,183	12,633
% of Total	100.0%	100.0	100.0%	88.9%	85.9%	97.1%	11.1%	14.1%	12.9%

Sources: 1960 Census of Population, Detailed Characteristics, Table 216

1970 Census of Population, Special Subject Report, Low-Income Population, Table 26

1980 Census of Population, Characteristics of Workers in Metropolitan Areas, Table 1

* Does not include workers who work outside SMSA of residence

TABLE 1A-11
Atlanta

Place of Residence and Place of Work of All Workers and Black Workers in
The Atlanta Metropolitan Area by Central City and Ring: 1960, 1970, 1980

All Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence

	Total			Work In Central City			Work In Ring		
	1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980
Live in Central City	178,733	178,034	148,975	153,958	145,304	110,554	24,775	32,730	38,421
Live In Ring	182,688	342,349	703,998	89,005	128,877	210,039	93,683	213,472	493,959
Total	361,421	520,383	852,973	242,963	274,181	320,593	118,458	246,202	532,380
% of Total	100.0%	100.0	100.0%	46.7%	52.7%	37.6%	22.8%	47.3%	62.4%

Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence

Live in Central City	63,774	79,767	86,264	59,012	62,992	63,392	4,762	16,775	22,872
Live In Ring	14,622	13,219	83,285	2,719	3,602	35,086	11,903	14,617	46,199
Total	78,396	92,986	169,549	61,731	66,594	98,478	16,665	31,392	71,071
% of Total	100.0%	100.0	100.0%	78.7%	68.0%	58.1%	21.3%	32.0%	41.9%

Sources: 1960 Census of Population, Detailed Characteristics, Table 216

TABLE 1A-12
Dallas

Place of Residence and Place of Work of All Workers and Black Workers in
The Dallas-Ft. Worth Metropolitan Area by Central City and Ring*: 1960, 1970, 1980

All Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence

	Total			Work In Central City			Work In Ring		
	1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980
Live in Central City	260,691	323,427	404,521	250,651	286,985	336,408	10,040	36,442	68,113
Live In Ring	140,382	258,304	911,238	52,189	126,972	252,175	88,193	131,332	559,053
Total	401,073	581,731	1,315,759	302,840	413,957	588,583	98,233	167,774	727,166
% of Total	100.0%	100.0	100.0%	75.5%	71.2%	44.7%	24.5%	29.8%	55.3%

Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence

Live in Central City	45,901	63,990	97,832	44,748	56,460	83,807	1,153	7,530	14,075
Live In Ring	8,090	10,194	52,368	1,528	2,511	7,351	6,562	7,683	45,017
Total	53,991	74,184	150,250	46,276	58,971	91,158	7,715	15,213	59,092
% of Total	100.0%	100.0	100.0%	85.7%	79.5%	60.7%	14.3%	20.5%	39.3%

Sources: 1960 Census of Population, Detailed Characteristics, Table 216
1970 Census of Population, Special Subject Report, Low-Income Population, Table 26
1980 Census of Population, Characteristics of Workers in Metropolitan Areas, Table 1

* Does not include workers who work outside SMSA of residence

TABLE 1A-13
cleveland

Place of Residence and Place of Work of All Workers and Black Workers in
The Cleveland Metropolitan Area by Central City and Ring*: 1960, 1970, 1980

All Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence

	Total			Work In Central City			Work In Ring		
	1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980
Live in Central City	312,897	236,606	182,714	288,819	190,483	130,435	240,068	58,123	52,279
Live In Ring	332,850	461,317	553,006	174,318	200,652	191,780	148,532	260,665	361,226
Total	645,737	699,923	735,720	463,137	381,135	322,215	388,600	318,788	413,505
% of Total	100.0%	100.0	100.0%	71.7%	54.5%	43.3%	50.2%	45.5%	56.2%

Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence

Live in Central City	77,255	77,939	66,501	72,517	59,434	48,551	4,738	18,505	17,950
Live In Ring	2,740	15,413	39,204	876	9,885	22,619	1,864	5,528	15,585
Total	645,737	93,352	104,705	73,393	69,319	71,170	6,602	24,033	33,535
% of Total	100.0%	100.0	100.0%	11.4%	74.3%	68.0%	1.0%	25.7%	32.0%

Sources: 1960 Census of Population, Detailed Characteristics, Table 216
1970 Census of Population, Special Subject Report, Low-Income Population, Table 26
1980 Census of Population, Characteristics of Workers in Metropolitan Areas, Table 1

* Does not include workers who work outside SMSA of residence

TABLE 1A-14
St. Louis

Place of Residence and Place of Work of All Workers and Black Workers in
The St. Louis Metropolitan Area by Central City and Ring: 1960, 1970, 1980

All Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence

	Total 1960	1970	1980	Work In Central City			Work In Ring		
				1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980
Live in Central City	262,816	199,271	149,290	241,082	157,194	113,431	21,734	42,077	35,859
Live In Ring	436,073	604,254	756,611	159,832	181,477	192,461	276,241	422,777	564,150
Total	698,889	803,525	905,901	400,914	338,671	305,892	297,975	464,854	600,009
% of Total	100.0%	100.0	100.0%	57.4%	42.1%	33.8%	42.6%	57.9%	66.2%

Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence

Live in Central City	58,638	66,830	53,428	52,611	50,292	40,811	6,027	16,538	12,617
Live In Ring	18,139	30,876	59,328	3,970	10,154	15,706	14,160	20,722	43,622
Total	76,777	97,706	112,756	56,581	60,446	56,517	20,187	37,260	56,239
% of Total	100.0%	100.0	100.0%	73.7%	61.9%	50.1%	26.3%	38.1%	49.9%

Sources: 1960 Census of Population, Detailed Characteristics, Table 216
1970 Census of Population, Special Subject Report, Low-Income Population, Table 26
1980 Census of Population, Characteristics of Workers in Metropolitan Areas, Table 1

* Does not include workers who work outside SMSA of residence

TABLE 1A-15
Newark

Place of Residence and Place of Work of All Workers and Black Workers in
The Newark Metropolitan Area by Central City and Ring: 1960, 1970, 1980

All Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence

	Total			Work In Central City			Work In Ring		
	1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980
Live in Central City	124,726	96,982	73,091	92,878	65,416	45,381	31,848	31,566	27,710
Live In Ring	389,601	438,593	546,062	77,329	70,036	58,475	311,272	368,557	487,586
Total	513,327	535,575	619,153	170,207	135,452	103,857	343,120	400,123	515,296
% of Total	100.0%	100.0	100.0%	33.2%	25.3%	16.8%	66.8%	74.7%	82.2%

Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence

Live in Central City	36,314	44,445	38,293	25,024	28,548	22,655	11,290	15,897	15,636
Live In Ring	28,805	38,106	62,768	4,208	8,724	15,557	24,597	29,382	47,211
Total	65,119	82,551	101,061	29,232	37,272	38,212	35,887	45,279	62,847
% of Total	100.0%	100.0	100.0%	44.9%	45.2%	37.8%	55.1%	54.8%	62.2%

Sources: 1960 Census of Population, Detailed Characteristics, Table 216
1970 Census of Population, Special Subject Report, Low-Income Population, Table 26
1980 Census of Population, Characteristics of Workers in Metropolitan Areas, Table 1

* Does not include workers who work outside SMSA of residence

TABLE 1A-16
Boston

Place of Residence and Place of Work of All Workers and Black Workers in
The Boston Metropolitan Area by Central City and Ring*: 1960, 1970, 1980

All Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence

	Total 1960	1970	1980	Work In Central City			Work In Ring		
				1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980
Live in Central City	261,601	221,657	215,183	216,180	174,183	165,100	45,421	47,484	50,083
Live In Ring	561,203	740,162	911,280	193,314	195,581	220,074	467,389	544,581	691,206
Total	922,804	961,829	1,126,463	409,494	369,764	385,174	513,310	592,065	741,289
% of Total	100.0%	100.0	100.0%	44.4%	38.4%	34.2%	55.6%	61.6%	65.8%

Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence

Live in Central City	22,518	25,358	35,991	17,812	19,711	28,584	4,706	5,647	7,407
Live In Ring	6,211	7,626	12,810	1,773	2,428	4,341	4,438	5,198	8,469
Total	28,729	32,984	48,801	19,585	22,139	32,925	9,144	10,845	15,876
% of Total	100.0%	100.0	100.0%	68.2%	67.1%	67.5%	31.8%	32.9%	32.5%

Sources: 1960 Census of Population, Detailed Characteristics, Table 216
1970 Census of Population, Special Subject Report, Low-Income Population, Table 26
1980 Census of Population, Characteristics of Workers in Metropolitan Areas, Table 1

* Does not include workers who work outside SMSA of residence

TABLE 1A-17
San Francisco

Place of Residence and Place of Work of All Workers and Black Workers in
The San Francisco Metropolitan Area by Central City and Ring: 1960, 1970, 1980

All Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence

	Total			Work In Central City			Work In Ring		
	1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980
Live in Central City	439,581	276,907	299,395	827,648	252,689	252,407	(388,067)	24,308	36,987
Live In Ring	567,524	806,754	1,021,972	396,420	144,517	132,195	171,104	662,237	839,777
Total	1,007,105	1,083,751	1,311,357	1,224,068	397,206	434,602	(216,963)	686,545	876,764
% of Total	100.0%	100.0	100.0%	121.5%	36.7%	33.1%	-21.5%	63.3%	66.7%

Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence

Live in Central City	75,054	27,341	25,987	62,220	25,167	22,201	12,834	2,674	3,796
Live In Ring	33,166	60,336	91,055	8,102	9,407	16,688	25,064	51,929	74,367
Total	108,220	88,177	117,042	70,322	33,574	38,889	37,898	54,603	78,153
% of Total	100.0%	100.0	100.0%	65.0%	38.1%	33.2%	35.0%	61.9%	66.8%

Sources: 1960 Census of Population, Detailed Characteristics, Table E15
1970 Census of Population, Special Subject Report, Low-Income Population, Table 26
1980 Census of Population, Characteristics of Workers in Metropolitan Areas, Table 1

* Does not include workers who work outside SMSA of residence

TABLE 1B

Place of Residence and Place of Work of All Workers and Black Workers in 15 Metropolitan Areas by Central City and Rings: 1960, 1970, 1980

		Total				Work In Central City			Work In Ring		
		1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980	
NEW YORK CITY											
Other Workers	Live in Central City	73.5%	65.8%	72.2%	82.8%	86.5%	91.2%	64.2%	9.3%	6.3%	
	Live In Ring	26.5%	34.2%	27.8%	17.2%	13.5%	6.8%	35.8%	90.7%	93.7%	
Black Workers	Live in Central City	88.2%	87.6%	90.3%	98.0%	96.0%	97.6%	71.7%	20.9%	17.6%	
	Live In Ring	11.8%	12.4%	9.7%	2.0%	2.0%	2.4%	28.3%	79.1%	82.2%	
CHICAGO											
Other Workers	Live in Central City	54.6%	41.0%	30.2%	76.2%	67.8%	60.7%	11.3%	14.0%	13.0%	
	Live In Ring	45.4%	59.0%	69.8%	23.8%	32.2%	39.3%	88.7%	86.0%	90.0%	
Black Workers	Live in Central City	90.5%	88.0%	90.5%	98.2%	97.5%	93.2%	37.5%	54.5%	46.2%	
	Live In Ring	9.5%	12.0%	9.5%	1.8%	2.5%	6.8%	62.5%	45.5%	53.8%	
DETROIT											
Other Workers	Live in Central City	40.1%	25.1%	11.0%	61.1%	47.6%	31.1%	15.5%	12.7%	5.5%	
	Live In Ring	59.9%	74.9%	89.0%	38.9%	52.2%	68.9%	84.5%	87.3%	94.5%	
Black Workers	Live in Central City	65.8%	88.4%	83.9%	96.1%	95.6%	93.6%	57.3%	75.8%	67.4%	
	Live In Ring	34.2%	11.6%	16.2%	3.9%	4.4%	6.4%	42.7%	24.2%	32.6%	
PHILADELPHIA											
Other Workers	Live in Central City	42.4%	33.8%	25.9%	72.5%	65.6%	62.2%	6.5%	7.3%	5.7%	
	Live In Ring	57.6%	66.2%	74.1%	27.5%	34.4%	37.8%	93.5%	92.7%	94.3%	
Black Workers	Live in Central City	78.9%	78.0%	69.6%	97.2%	95.7%	91.3%	24.3%	31.4%	24.0%	
	Live In Ring	21.1%	22.0%	30.4%	2.8%	4.3%	8.7%	75.7%	68.6%	76.0%	
LOS ANGELES											
Other Workers	Live in Central City	45.4%	38.0%	39.9%	65.2%	65.2%	66.9%	37.9%	19.0%	16.2%	
	Live In Ring	54.6%	62.0%	60.1%	34.8%	34.8%	33.1%	62.1%	81.0%	83.8%	
Black Workers	Live in Central City	75.0%	67.3%	51.5%	95.1%	85.3%	45.9%	10.7%	49.7%	12.2%	
	Live In Ring	25.0%	32.7%	48.5%	4.9%	14.7%	54.1%	89.3%	50.3%	87.8%	
WASHINGTON, D.C.											
Other Workers	Live in Central City	27.2%	8.5%	9.3%	41.0%	23.9%	24.6%	1.7%	1.7%	1.3%	
	Live In Ring	72.8%	91.5%	90.7%	59.0%	76.1%	75.4%	98.3%	98.3%	98.7%	
Black Workers	Live in Central City	34.8%	75.9%	46.7%	95.5%	96.6%	70.5%	51.7%	50.7%	20.2%	
	Live In Ring	65.2%	24.1%	53.3%	4.5%	3.4%	29.5%	48.3%	49.3%	79.8%	
HOUSTON											
Other Workers	Live in Central City	74.4%	60.9%	26.3%	86.1%	74.4%	50.8%	19.3%	21.0%	6.1%	
	Live In Ring	25.6%	39.1%	73.7%	13.9%	25.6%	49.2%	80.7%	79.0%	93.9%	
Black Workers	Live in Central City	89.1%	90.3%	65.1%	92.7%	93.0%	91.9%	45.3%	33.4%	23.3%	
	Live In Ring	10.9%	9.7%	34.9%	7.3%	7.0%	8.1%	54.7%	66.6%	76.7%	

Table 1B (Cont'd)

BALTIMORE										
Other Workers	Live in Central City	47.2%	31.3%	20.5%	66.3%	51.0%	38.1%	14.3%	13.8%	9.1%
	Live In Ring	52.8%	68.7%	79.5%	33.7%	49.0%	61.9%	85.7%	86.2%	91.9%
Black Workers	Live in Central City	86.0%	85.4%	73.7%	97.5%	95.8%	84.9%	46.3%	64.2%	49.0%
	Live In Ring	14.0%	14.6%	26.3%	2.5%	4.2%	15.1%	53.7%	35.8%	51.0%
NEW ORLEANS										
Other Workers	Live in Central City	68.5%	47.6%	33.1%	91.3%	64.1%	53.6%	15.9%	17.3%	10.6%
	Live In Ring	31.5%	52.4%	66.9%	18.7%	35.9%	46.4%	84.1%	82.7%	89.4%
Black Workers	Live in Central City	87.7%	82.9%	79.8%	96.7%	94.3%	93.2%	26.4%	44.0%	41.6%
	Live In Ring	12.3%	17.1%	20.2%	3.3%	5.7%	6.8%	73.6%	56.0%	58.4%
MEMPHIS										
Other Workers	Live in Central City	78.8%	78.7%	62.9%	88.5%	89.2%	73.7%	24.9%	32.3%	20.6%
	Live In Ring	21.2%	21.3%	37.1%	11.5%	10.8%	26.3%	75.1%	67.7%	80.0%
Black Workers	Live in Central City	84.0%	87.4%	96.7%	92.2%	95.2%	94.9%	12.3%	40.0%	30.6%
	Live In Ring	16.0%	12.6%	13.3%	7.8%	4.8%	5.1%	81.7%	60.0%	69.4%
ATLANTA										
Other Workers	Live in Central City	40.6%	23.3%	9.2%	52.4%	39.7%	21.2%	19.7%	7.4%	3.4%
	Live In Ring	59.4%	76.7%	90.8%	47.6%	60.3%	78.8%	80.3%	92.6%	96.6%
Black Workers	Live in Central City	81.3%	81.4%	50.9%	95.6%	94.6%	84.4%	26.5%	53.4%	32.2%
	Live In Ring	19.7%	18.6%	49.1%	4.4%	5.4%	35.6%	71.4%	46.6%	67.8%
DALLAS										
Other Workers	Live in Central City	61.7%	51.1%	26.3%	80.3%	64.9%	50.8%	9.9%	19.0%	9.1%
	Live In Ring	38.1%	48.9%	73.7%	19.7%	35.1%	49.2%	90.2%	81.0%	91.9%
Black Workers	Live in Central City	95.0%	86.3%	65.1%	96.7%	95.7%	91.9%	14.9%	49.5%	23.8%
	Live In Ring	15.0%	13.7%	34.9%	3.3%	4.3%	8.1%	85.1%	50.5%	76.2%
CLEVELAND										
Other Workers	Live in Cent	41.7%	26.5%	13.4%	55.5%	38.8%	32.6%	61.6%	13.4%	9.0%
	Live In Ring	58.3%	73.5%	81.6%	44.5%	61.2%	67.4%	38.4%	86.6%	91.0%
Black Workers	Live in Cent	96.6%	83.5%	63.5%	96.8%	95.7%	88.2%	71.8%	77.0%	53.5%
	Live In Ring	3.4%	16.5%	36.5%	1.2%	14.3%	31.8%	28.2%	23.0%	46.5%
ST. LOUIS										
Other Workers	Live in Central City	82.8%	18.8%	12.1%	56.7%	38.4%	29.1%	5.7%	6.0%	4.3%
	Live In Ring	67.2%	81.2%	87.9%	43.3%	61.6%	70.9%	94.3%	94.0%	95.7%
Black Workers	Live in Central City	76.4%	68.4%	47.4%	93.0%	83.2%	73.2%	29.2%	44.4%	22.4%
	Live In Ring	23.6%	31.6%	52.6%	7.0%	16.8%	27.8%	70.1%	55.6%	77.6%

Table 18 (Cont'd)

NEWARK

Other Workers	Live in Central City	19.7%	11.6%	6.7%	48.1%	37.6%	34.6%	6.7%	4.4%	2.7%
	Live In Ring	80.3%	88.4%	93.3%	51.9%	62.4%	65.4%	93.3%	95.6%	97.3%

Black Workers	Live in Central City	55.8%	53.6%	37.9%	85.6%	76.6%	59.3%	31.5%	35.1%	24.9%
	Live In Ring	44.2%	46.2%	62.1%	14.4%	23.4%	40.7%	68.5%	64.9%	75.1%

BOSTON

Other Workers	Live in Central City	26.7%	21.1%	15.6%	50.9%	44.4%	38.8%	8.1%	7.2%	5.9%
	Live In Ring	73.3%	78.9%	84.4%	49.1%	55.6%	61.2%	91.9%	92.8%	94.1%

Black Workers	Live in Central City	79.4%	76.2%	73.8%	90.9%	89.0%	86.8%	51.5%	52.1%	46.7%
	Live In Ring	21.6%	23.1%	26.2%	9.1%	11.0%	13.2%	48.5%	47.9%	53.3%

SAN FRANCISCO

Other Workers	Live in Central City	40.6%	48.4%	22.1%	48.0%	62.6%	58.2%	10.4%	3.4%	4.2%
	Live In Ring	59.4%	51.6%	77.9%	52.0%	37.4%	41.8%	89.6%	96.6%	95.8%

Black Workers	Live in Central City	78.4%	76.2%	73.8%	90.9%	89.0%	86.8%	51.5%	52.1%	46.7%
	Live In Ring	21.6%	23.1%	26.2%	9.1%	11.0%	13.2%	48.5%	47.9%	53.3%

*Other Workers Includes All Workers except black workers

* Data presented for 1960 are for White & Non-White populations

TABLE 2

Workers Living In Central Cities of SMSA's By Place of Work and Race: 1980

	Black		White		Other	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Living In Central City	3,276,997	100.0%	21,767,414	100.0%	2,024,930	100.0%
Working In Central City	3,665,698	69.5%	15,774,769	72.5%	1,437,506	71.0%
Working In CBD	531,598	10.1%	2,424,480	11.1%	183,204	9.0%
Working In Ring	725,355	13.7%	3,212,727	14.7%	287,961	14.2%
Working Outside SMSA	141,799	2.7%	948,652	4.4%	69,837	3.4%
Workplace Not Reported	743,148	14.1%	1,831,266	8.4%	229,626	11.4%

Workers Living In Rings of SMSA's By Place of Work and Race: 1980

	Black		White		Other	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Living In Ring	2,422,267	100.0%	41,298,885	100.0%	1,638,463	100.0%
Working In Central City	751,225	31.0%	11,454,366	27.7%	485,338	29.6%
Working In CBD	118,117	4.9%	1,991,039	4.8%	76,298	4.6%
Working In Ring	1,203,723	49.7%	23,247,497	56.3%	978,719	53.6%
Working Outside SMSA	150,191	6.2%	3,355,209	8.1%	111,271	6.8%
Workplace Not Reported	317,128	13.1%	3,241,813	7.9%	163,135	10.0%

Distribution of SMSA Workers By Place of Work and Race: 1980

	Central City		CBD		Ring	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
All Workers	33,569,902	99.9%	5,324,736	100.0%	29,555,982	100.0%
Black	4,417,923	13.2%	649,715	12.2%	1,929,078	6.5%
White	27,229,135	81.1%	4,415,519	82.9%	26,460,224	89.5%
Other	1,922,844	0.6%	259,502	4.9%	1,166,680	4.0%

Source: 1980 Census of Population, Characteristics of Workers in Metropolitan Areas, Table 1

Table 2A

Workers Living in Central Cities and Working in SMSA of Residence by Place of Work and Race: 17 SMSA's, 1980

		Living In Central City			Living In Ring		
		Wkg in CC	Wkg CBD	Wkg Ring	Wkg in CC	Wkg CBD	Wkg Ring
		%	%	%	%	%	%
NY City	White	98.1%	18.7%	1.9%	24.1%	7.1%	75.9%
	Black	98.2%	10.9%	1.6%	22.3%	3.2%	77.7%
	Other	97.6%	12.9%	2.4%	37.8%	9.6%	62.2%
Chicago	White	80.0%	15.5%	20.0%	22.6%	7.0%	78.0%
	Black	85.0%	14.9%	15.0%	25.3%	5.7%	73.7%
	Other	80.5%	9.3%	19.5%	26.0%	5.5%	74.0%
Detroit	White	59.9%	10.6%	40.1%	15.5%	3.3%	63.5%
	Black	69.9%	10.9%	30.2%	24.7%	4.7%	75.3%
	Other	71.9%	10.8%	28.1%	25.3%	4.5%	74.7%
Philad.	White	85.7%	19.9%	14.3%	18.1%	5.9%	81.9%
	Black	88.9%	17.2%	11.1%	19.6%	4.6%	80.4%
	Other	90.4%	16.1%	9.6%	22.7%	7.2%	77.3%
Los Angeles	White	73.1%	4.4%	26.9%	23.9%	3.1%	76.1%
	Black	70.3%	7.5%	29.7%	39.5%	4.9%	60.5%
	Other	73.0%	6.9%	27.0%	30.7%	4.5%	69.3%
Washington	White	86.0%	21.4%	14.0%	27.9%	6.9%	72.1%
	Black	79.5%	12.9%	20.4%	47.0%	8.9%	53.0%
	Other	83.7%	18.0%	16.3%	37.1%	10.2%	62.9%
Houston	White	89.6%	10.6%	10.4%	46.0%	5.6%	54.0%
	Black	92.0%	9.4%	3.0%	48.1%	6.1%	51.9%
	Other	92.5%	8.4%	7.5%	53.9%	3.8%	46.1%
Baltimore	White	76.7%	11.3%	23.3%	32.2%	5.3%	67.8%
	Black	77.3%	9.3%	20.7%	39.7%	4.2%	60.3%
	Other	38.4%	13.4%	11.6%	41.5%	4.7%	58.5%
New Orleans	White	84.9%	26.5%	15.1%	36.3%	11.6%	63.7%
	Black	85.4%	21.5%	13.5%	26.9%	16.7%	75.1%
	Other	84.2%	25.6%	15.3%	43.1%	12.7%	56.9%
Memphis	White	93.6%	7.9%	6.4%	57.1%	4.1%	42.9%
	Black	95.4%	8.1%	4.5%	33.0%	2.9%	67.0%
	Other	94.8%	3.2%	5.4%	31.5%	0.0%	68.5%
Atlanta	White	75.0%	17.3%	25.0%	28.1%	6.0%	71.9%
	Black	73.5%	12.9%	25.5%	42.1%	9.9%	57.9%
	Other	86.3%	24.0%	13.7%	33.5%	8.2%	66.5%

2A (Cont'd)

Dallas	White :	82.3%	45.4%	17.7%	29.1%	12.1%	70.9%
	Black :	85.6%	10.9%	14.4%	14.0%	1.8%	86.0%
	Other :	83.4%	8.5%	16.0%	22.4%	2.4%	77.6%
Cleveland	White :	70.2%	15.0%	29.8%	33.0%	10.0%	67.0%
	Black :	73.0%	19.0%	27.0%	59.0%	18.5%	41.0%
	Other :	78.0%	11.0%	22.0%	46.6%	13.3%	53.4%
St. Louis	White :	75.8%	14.4%	24.2%	24.0%	5.5%	76.0%
	Black :	76.4%	15.2%	23.6%	40.9%	9.0%	59.1%
	Other :	74.1%	13.8%	25.9%	31.2%	5.7%	68.8%
Newark	White :	66.2%	13.9%	33.8%	8.7%	3.4%	91.3%
	Black :	59.1%	18.4%	40.9%	24.8%	8.9%	75.2%
	Other :	60.3%	14.2%	39.7%	15.5%	4.1%	83.5%
Boston	White :	76.2%	13.5%	23.8%	23.9%	5.9%	76.1%
	Black :	79.4%	11.7%	20.6%	33.9%	8.4%	66.1%
	Other :	76.1%	12.7%	23.9%	29.5%	7.2%	70.5%
San Fran.	White :	87.4%	16.7%	12.6%	16.7%	7.1%	83.3%
	Black :	85.4%	22.0%	14.6%	18.3%	7.2%	81.7%
	Other :	87.4%	29.6%	12.6%	25.1%	10.8%	74.9%

Source: U.S. Census, Journey To Work, 1980, Table 2.

TABLE 3

Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence as Percent of All workers
Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence by Place of Residence and Place of Work:
1960, 1970, 1980

	All SMSA Workers	Live In Central City			Live In Ring		
		Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring	Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring
1960	10.6%	15.8%	15.9%	14.8%	4.6%	3.6%	5.2%
1970	10.1%	17.0%	16.7%	17.6%	4.2%	3.7%	4.4%
1980	10.1%	17.5%	17.6%	17.2%	5.1%	5.9%	4.8%

TABLE 4

Distribution of Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence
By Place of Residence and Place of Work: 1960, 1970, 1980

	All SMSA Workers	Live In Central City			Live In Ring		
		Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring	Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring
1960	100.0%	79.6%	72.1%	7.5%	20.4%	5.8%	14.6%
1970	100.0%	78.1%	65.2%	12.9%	21.9%	7.0%	14.9%
1980	100.0%	69.2%	57.8%	11.4%	30.8%	11.8%	19.0%

TABLE 3A-1: New York City

Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence as as Percent of All workers
Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence by Place of Residence and Place of Work:
1960, 1970, 1980

	All SMSA Workers	Live In Central City				Live In Ring		
		Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring		Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring
1960		13.5%	16.1%	9.9%		5.5%	92.5%	7.2%
1970		17.3%	17.4%	14.9%		5.4%	2.7%	6.4%
1980		21.1%	21.1%	19.7%		6.9%	6.4%	7.1%

TABLE 4A-1: New York City

Distribution of Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence
By Place of Residence and Place of Work: 1960, 1970, 1980

	All SMSA Workers	Live In Central City				Live In Ring		
		Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring		Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring
1960	100.0%	88.2%	61.3%	26.8%		11.8%	1.2%	10.6%
1970	100.0%	87.6%	84.8%	2.8%		12.4%	1.9%	10.6%
1980	100.0%	90.3%	38.7%	1.6%		9.7%	2.2%	7.5%

TABLE 3A-2: Chicago

Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence as a Percent of All workers
Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence by Place of Residence and Place of Work:
1960, 1970, 1980

All SMSA Workers	Live In Central City				Live In Ring		
	Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring		Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring
1960	17.1%	17.4%	14.0%	:	2.6%	67.6%	3.3%
1970	24.1%	24.9%	20.3%	:	2.9%	1.8%	3.3%
1980	29.9%	31.2%	24.2%	:	4.2%	4.9%	4.0%

TABLE 4A-2: Chicago

Distribution of Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence
By Place of Residence and Place of Work: 1960, 1970, 1980

All SMSA Workers		Live In Central City				Live In Ring		
		Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring		Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring
1960	100.0%	90.3%	55.4%	4.9%	:	9.7%	1.5%	8.1%
1970	100.0%	88.0%	76.1%	12.0%	:	12.0%	2.0%	10.0%
1980	100.0%	80.9%	62.7%	12.1%	:	19.1%	5.0%	14.1%

TABLE 3A-3: Detroit

Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence as a Percent of All workers
Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence by Place of Residence and Place of Work:
1960, 1970, 1980

All SMSA Workers	Live In Central City			Live In Ring		
	Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring	Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring
1960	22.6%	23.0%	20.6%	2.9%	47.8%	3.4%
1970	38.2%	38.7%	37.1%	2.6%	2.6%	2.7%
1980	55.4%	53.9%	48.7%	2.9%	4.2%	2.6%

TABLE 4A-3: Detroit

Distribution of Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence
By Place of Residence and Place of Work: 1960, 1970, 1980

All SMSA Workers	Live In Central City			Live In Ring		
	Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring	Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring
1960	100.0%	86.3%	73.1%	13.2%	2.9%	10.2%
1970	100.0%	93.4%	60.8%	11.6%	2.6%	8.8%
1980	100.0%	93.8%	58.5%	16.2%	4.0%	12.2%

TABLE 3A-4: Philadelphia

Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence as as Percent of All workers
Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence by Place of Residence and Place of Work:
1960, 1970, 1980

All SMSA Workers	Live In Central City				Live In Ring		
	Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring		Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring
1960	23.8%	23.6%	25.5%		5.8%	82.0%	6.9%
1970	28.1%	29.3%	26.8%		5.3%	3.3%	5.9%
1980	30.5%	31.2%	25.5%		6.3%	6.7%	6.2%

TABLE 4A-4: Philadelphia

Distribution of Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence
By Place of Residence and Place of Work: 1960, 1970, 1980

All SMSA Workers		Live In Central City				Live In Ring		
		Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring		Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring
1960	100.0%	78.9%	72.8%	6.1%		21.1%	2.1%	17.0%
1970	100.0%	78.0%	69.4%	8.6%		22.0%	3.1%	18.9%
1980	100.0%	69.6%	61.9%	7.7%		30.4%	5.9%	24.4%

TABLE 3A-5: Los Angeles

Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence as Percent of All workers
Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence by Place of Residence and Place of Work:
1960, 1970, 1980

All SMSA Workers	Live In Central City				Live In Ring		
	Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring		Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring
1960	14.3%	15.1%	11.5%	:	4.4%	37.0%	3.8%
1970	14.1%	14.3%	13.4%	:	4.7%	7.3%	3.8%
1980	14.6%	14.1%	16.2%	:	9.2%	10.1%	9.1%

TABLE 4A-5: Los Angeles

Distribution of Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence
By Place of Residence and Place of Work: 1960, 1970, 1980

All SMSA Workers	Live In Central City				Live In Ring		
	Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring		Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring
1960	100.0%	75.0%	62.0%	:	25.0%	10.9%	14.1%
1970	100.0%	67.0%	49.9%	:	33.0%	13.7%	19.2%
1980	100.0%	51.5%	36.2%	:	48.5%	3.9%	44.5%

TABLE 3A-6: Washington, D.C.

Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence as as Percent of All workers
Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence by Place of Residence and Place of Work:
1960, 1970, 1980

	All SMSA Workers	Live In Central City				Live In Ring		
		Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring		Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring
1960		48.3%	46.6%	17.6%		5.9%	61.9%	8.7%
1970		65.5%	63.8%	73.2%		5.3%	7.9%	4.4%
1980		60.9%	59.1%	69.2%		15.4%	16.5%	15.0%

TABLE 4A-6: Washington, D.C.

Distribution of Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence
By Place of Residence and Place of Work: 1960, 1970, 1980

	All SMSA Workers	Live In Central City				Live In Ring		
		Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring		Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring
1960	100.0%	84.8%	72.1%	12.7%		15.2%	3.4%	11.9%
1970	100.0%	75.9%	60.8%	15.1%		24.1%	9.4%	14.6%
1980	100.0%	46.7%	37.2%	9.5%		53.3%	15.5%	37.7%

TABLE 3A-7: Houston

Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence as Percent of All workers
Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence by Place of Residence and Place of Work:
1960, 1970, 1980

All SMSA Workers	Live In Central City			Live In Ring		
	Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring	Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring
1960	22.1%	22.2%	19.2%	9.1%	168.3%	6.4%
1970	22.1%	22.2%	21.5%	9.8%	5.9%	13.2%
1980	24.2%	24.9%	20.6%	5.7%	2.9%	6.8%

TABLE 4A-7: Houston

Distribution of Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence
By Place of Residence and Place of Work: 1960, 1970, 1980

All SMSA Workers	Live In Central City			Live In Ring		
	Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring	Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring
1960	100.0%	89.1%	85.7%	10.9%	6.8%	4.1%
1970	100.0%	80.3%	79.5%	19.7%	5.6%	14.1%
1980	100.0%	65.1%	55.8%	34.9%	4.9%	30.0%

TABLE 3A-8: Baltimore

Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence as as Percent of All workers
Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence by Place of Residence and Place of Work:
1960, 1970, 1980

	All SMSA Workers	Live In Central City				Live In Ring		
		Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring		Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring
1960		30.5%	30.2%	32.4%		6.0%	85.6%	8.5%
1970		40.6%	40.2%	41.8%		5.0%	3.0%	6.0%
1980		48.2%	48.9%	45.5%		7.9%	9.5%	7.1%

TABLE 4A-8: Baltimore

Distribution of Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence
By Place of Residence and Place of Work: 1960, 1970, 1980

	All SMSA Workers	Live In Central City				Live In Ring		
		Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring		Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring
1960	100.0%	86.0%	75.5%	10.5%		14.0%	1.9%	12.1%
1970	100.0%	85.4%	64.4%	21.1%		14.6%	2.8%	11.8%
1980	100.0%	73.7%	58.5%	15.2%		26.3%	10.4%	15.8%

TABLE 3A-9: New Orleans

Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence as Percent of All workers
Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence by Place of Residence and Place of Work:
1960, 1970, 1980

All SMSA Workers	Live In Central City			Live In Ring		
	Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring	Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring
1960	32.0%	32.2%	28.5%	12.6%	198.7%	17.4%
1970	36.6%	36.8%	35.1%	9.8%	5.9%	12.6%
1980	45.8%	45.2%	43.0%	9.6%	6.8%	11.1%

TABLE 4A-9: New Orleans

Distribution of Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence
By Place of Residence and Place of Work: 1960, 1970, 1980

All SMSA Workers	Live In Central City			Live In Ring		
	Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring	Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring
1960	100.0%	87.7%	84.3%	12.3%	2.9%	9.4%
1970	100.0%	82.9%	72.9%	17.1%	4.4%	12.7%
1980	100.0%	79.8%	69.0%	20.2%	5.0%	15.2%

TABLE 3A-10: Memphis

Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence as as Percent of All workers
Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence by Place of Residence and Place of Work:
1960, 1970, 1980

All SMSA Workers	Live In Central City			Live In Ring		
	Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring	Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring
1960	32.2%	32.8%	19.2%	25.1%	308.9%	26.0%
1970	30.2%	30.4%	36.9%	18.7%	15.4%	20.9%
1980	36.3%	36.8%	33.9%	13.0%	3.0%	18.7%

TABLE 4A-10: Memphis

Distribution of Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence
By Place of Residence and Place of Work: 1960, 1970, 1980

All SMSA Workers	Live In Central City			Live In Ring		
	Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring	Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring
1960	100.0%	84.0%	32.0%	16.0%	6.9%	9.1%
1970	100.0%	97.4%	91.7%	12.6%	4.1%	9.5%
1980	100.0%	86.7%	92.7%	13.3%	4.4%	6.9%

TABLE 3A-11: Atlanta

Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence as Percent of All workers
Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence by Place of Residence and Place of Work:
1960, 1970, 1980

All SMSA Workers	Live In Central City				Live In Ring		
	Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring		Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring
1960	35.7%	38.3%	19.2%		8.0%	69.4%	12.7%
1970	44.8%	43.4%	51.3%		5.3%	2.8%	6.8%
1980	57.9%	57.3%	59.5%		11.8%	16.7%	9.8%

TABLE 4A-11: Atlanta

Distribution of Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence
By Place of Residence and Place of Work: 1960, 1970, 1980

All SMSA Workers	Live In Central City				Live In Ring		
	Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring		Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring
1960	100.0%	81.3%	75.3%		18.7%	3.5%	15.2%
1970	100.0%	81.4%	64.3%		18.6%	3.7%	14.9%
1980	100.0%	50.9%	37.4%		49.1%	20.7%	29.4%

TABLE 3A-12: Dallas

Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence as as Percent of All workers
Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence by Place of Residence and Place of Work:
1960, 1970, 1980

	Live In Central City			Live In Ring		
	Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring	Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring
1960	17.6%	17.9%	11.5%	5.8%	88.7%	7.4%
1970	19.8%	19.7%	20.7%	3.9%	2.0%	5.9%
1980	24.2%	24.9%	20.7%	5.7%	2.9%	6.8%

TABLE 4A-12: Dallas

Distribution of Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence
By Place of Residence and Place of Work: 1960, 1970, 1980

	Live In Central City			Live In Ring		
	Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring	Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring
1960	100.0%	85.0%	82.9%	15.0%	2.8%	12.2%
1970	100.0%	86.3%	76.1%	13.7%	3.4%	10.4%
1980	100.0%	65.1%	55.3%	34.9%	4.9%	30.0%

TABLE 3A-13: Cleveland

Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence as as Percent of All workers
Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence by Place of Residence and Place of Work:
1960, 1970, 1980

	Live In Central City			Live In Ring		
	All SMSA			Workers		
	Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring	Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring
1960	24.7%	25.1%	2.0%	0.9%	42.1%	1.3%
1970	32.7%	32.9%	31.8%	3.3%	4.9%	2.1%
1980	36.4%	37.2%	34.3%	6.9%	11.8%	4.3%

TABLE 4A-13: Cleveland

Distribution of Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence
By Place of Residence and Place of Work: 1960, 1970, 1980

	Live In Central City			Live In Ring		
	All SMSA			Workers		
	Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring	Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring
1960	100.0%	12.0%	11.2%	0.7%	0.4%	0.1%
1970	100.0%	33.5%	63.7%	19.8%	16.5%	10.6%
1980	100.0%	63.5%	46.4%	17.1%	36.5%	21.6%

TABLE 3A-14: St. Louis

Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence as as Percent of All workers
Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence by Place of Residence and Place of Work:
1960, 1970, 1980

	All SMSA Workers	Live In Central City				Live In Ring		
		Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring		Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring
1960		22.3%	21.8%	27.7%		4.2%	35.4%	5.1%
1970		33.5%	32.0%	39.3%		5.1%	5.6%	4.9%
1980		35.8%	36.0%	35.2%		7.8%	8.2%	7.7%

TABLE 4A-14: St. Louis

Distribution of Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence
By Place of Residence and Place of Work: 1960, 1970, 1980

	All SMSA Workers	Live In Central City				Live In Ring		
		Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring		Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring
1960	100.0%	76.4%	68.5%	7.9%		23.6%	5.2%	18.4%
1970	100.0%	68.4%	51.5%	16.9%		31.6%	10.4%	21.2%
1980	100.0%	47.4%	36.2%	11.2%		52.6%	13.9%	38.7%

TABLE 3A-15: Newark

Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence as Percent of All workers
Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence by Place of Residence and Place of Work:
1960, 1970, 1980

		Live In Central City				Live In Ring			
		Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring		Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring	
1960	All SMSA Workers	29.1%	26.9%	35.4%		7.4%	37.8%	7.9%	
1970		45.8%	43.6%	50.4%		8.7%	12.5%	8.0%	
1980		52.4%	49.9%	56.4%		11.5%	26.6%	9.7%	

TABLE 4A-15: Newark

Distribution of Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence
By Place of Residence and Place of Work: 1960, 1970, 1980

		Live In Central City				Live In Ring			
		Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring		Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring	
1960	100.0%	55.8%	38.4%	17.3%		44.2%	6.5%	37.8%	
1970	100.0%	53.8%	34.6%	19.3%		46.2%	10.6%	35.6%	
1980	100.0%	37.9%	22.4%	15.5%		62.1%	15.4%	46.7%	

TABLE 3A-16: Boston

Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence as Percent of All workers
Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence by Place of Residence and Place of Work:
1960, 1970, 1980

	Live In Central City			Live In Ring		
	All SMSA			Workers		
	Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring	Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring
1960	8.6%	8.2%	10.4%	0.9%	10.1%	0.9%
1970	11.4%	11.3%	11.9%	1.0%	1.2%	1.0%
1980	16.7%	17.3%	14.8%	1.4%	2.0%	1.2%

TABLE 4A-16: Boston

Distribution of Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence
By Place of Residence and Place of Work: 1960, 1970, 1980

		Live In Central City			Live In Ring		
		All SMSA			Workers		
		Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring	Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring
1960	100.0%	78.4%	62.0%	16.4%	21.6%	6.2%	15.4%
1970	100.0%	76.9%	59.8%	17.1%	23.1%	7.4%	15.8%
1980	100.0%	73.8%	58.6%	15.2%	26.2%	8.9%	17.4%

TABLE 3A-17: San Francisco

Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence as as Percent of All workers
Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence by Place of Residence and Place of Work:
1960, 1970, 1980

All SMSA Workers	Live In Central City				Live In Ring		
	Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring		Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring
1960	17.1%	7.5%	-3.3%		5.8%	17.7%	14.6%
1970	10.1%	10.0%	11.0%		7.5%	5.8%	7.8%
1980	9.0%	8.8%	10.2%		8.9%	9.2%	8.9%

TABLE 4A-17: San Francisco

Distribution of Black Workers Who Live and Work in SMSA of Residence
By Place of Residence and Place of Work: 1960, 1970, 1980

All SMSA Workers	Live In Central City				Live In Ring		
	Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring		Total	Work In CC	Work In Ring
1960	100.0%	69.4%	57.5%		30.6%	7.5%	23.2%
1970	100.0%	31.6%	28.5%		68.4%	9.5%	58.9%
1980	100.0%	22.2%	19.0%		77.8%	14.3%	63.5%

TABLE 5

Households in Metropolitan Areas With No Automobile Available, by Race: 1960, 1970, 1980

	1960		1970		1980	
	White	Non-White	Non-Negro	Negro	White	Black
Total Households :	30,513,635	3,486,409	39,119,661	4,738,722	41,624,545	6,932,352
Central Cities :	15,662,232	2,843,717	17,546,093	3,832,227	18,735,649	5,044,175
No Auto :	4,515,759	1,526,765	4,263,266	1,807,115	3,469,325	1,967,046
% No Auto :	28.8	53.7	24.3	47.2	18.5	39.0
Ring :	14,851,403	642,692	21,573,568	906,495	22,888,896	1,888,127
No Auto :	1,550,428	227,909	1,818,162	256,337	2,059,682	356,890
% No Auto :	10.4	35.5	8.4	28.3	9.0	18.9
Ratio Black:White:	1960		1970		1980	
Central Cities :	1.86:1		1.94:1		2.11:1	
Ring :	3.40:1		3.70:1		2.10:1	

Sources: Census of Housing, U.S. Summary 1960 Detailed Characteristics, Table 13
 Census of Housing, U.S. Summary 1960 Detailed Characteristics, Table 29
 Census of Housing, U.S. Summary 1970 Detailed Characteristics, Table 33
 Census of Housing, U.S. Summary 1970 Detailed Characteristics, Table 37
 Census of Housing, U.S. Summary 1980 Detailed Characteristics, Table 81
 Census of Housing, U.S. Summary 1980 Detailed Characteristics, Table 83
 Census of Housing, U.S. Summary 1980 Detailed Characteristics, Table 84

Table 5A

Households in 17 Metropolitan Areas With No Automobile Available,
by Race: 1970 & 1980

X no auto	1970		1980		% Change, 70-80	
	B	W	B	W	B	W
New York						
CC	72.8%	54.0%	69.3%	53.0%	15.8%	-21.3%
Ring	33.0%	9.1%	33.0%	10.6%	-8.0%	-24.8%
Chicago						
CC	49.7%	35.4%	45.1%	32.7%	11.1%	-29.5%
Ring	22.9%	6.9%	14.2%	5.4%	44.7%	4.3%
Detroit						
CC	37.5%	44.1%	31.8%	21.2%	10.4%	-44.7%
Ring	27.5%	20.7%	21.9%	5.3%	34.6%	-29.5%
Philadelphia						
CC	55.3%	39.7%	50.9%	31.1%	1.5%	-17.9%
Ring	40.5%	10.7%	9.6%	7.6%	-37.1%	4.2%
Los Angeles						
CC	30.3%	20.1%	28.1%	13.6%	4.7%	33.0%
Ring	17.9%	11.5%	14.8%	8.8%	61.7%	-26.4%
Washington						
CC	47.2%	54.6%	40.6%	31.6%	-15.0%	-30.4%
Ring	20.7%	7.3%	13.6%	5.5%	108.4%	-8.4%
Houston						
CC	32.0%	14.1%	19.7%	5.5%	-0.6%	-16.0%
Ring	30.9%	7.0%	12.8%	2.5%	-39.4%	-3.0%
Baltimore						
CC	67.8%	41.1%	41.8%	13.4%	7.8%	8.7%
Ring	54.0%	7.9%	23.7%	4.5%	-39.8%	-75.1%
New Orleans						
CC	54.7%	37.3%	42.4%	20.8%	3.3%	-28.6%
Ring	35.4%	10.1%	20.6%	5.5%	-4.4%	27.3%
Memphis						
CC	46.6%	22.1%	32.5%	7.4%	3.7%	-19.8%
Ring	45.6%	17.2%	27.4%	2.9%	-4.8%	-24.8%
Atlanta						
CC	43.6%	28.7%	40.0%	17.1%	22.0%	-26.9%
Ring	29.5%	5.6%	29.9%	3.8%	181.0%	158.0%

SA (Cont'd)

Dallas						
CC	31.8%	14.1%	22.2%	6.8%	2.6%	-20.5%
Ring	33.2%	6.7%	17.7%	3.3%	171.7%	93.9%
Cleveland						
CC	40.4%	31.7%	36.9%	23.9%	-5.9%	-31.7%
Ring	17.9%	8.1%	36.6%	6.9%	129.0%	-2.7%
St. Louis						
CC	48.7%	38.1%	39.4%	25.1%	-25.5%	-38.7%
Ring	36.4%	9.7%	20.4%	6.0%	2.7%	-7.8%
Newark						
CC	59.1%	51.5%	53.8%	38.2%	-5.2%	-43.4%
Ring	31.1%	13.8%	26.0%	8.9%	50.3%	-16.8%
Boston						
CC	63.7%	40.6%	51.3%	40.5%	11.5%	-23.6%
Ring	34.8%	15.7%	29.6%	12.9%	50.3%	-12.3%
San Francisco						
CC	90.7%	39.6%	42.8%	33.0%	-1.2%	-32.2%
Ring	6.1%	11.7%	25.0%	7.6%	44.6%	-19.0%

* % Change represents the percentage change in absolute numbers of households with no automobile available.

Source: U.S. Census of Housing 1980, Detailed Characteristics, Tables 55, 56
U.S. Census of Housing 1970, Detailed Characteristics, Tables 44, 46.

Table 5B

Black Households in Metropolitan Areas With No Automobile Available
As A Percent of All Households In Metropolitan Areas With No Automobile
Available: 1960, 1970, 1980

	1960	1970	1980
Central Cities	25.3%	29.8%	36.2%
Rings	12.8%	12.4%	14.8%

Table 5C

Change in Number of Households In Metropolitan Areas With No Automobile
Available By Rate: 1960 - 1980

	Black	All Others
Central Cities	28.8%	-23.2%
Rings	56.6%	32.8%

(Derived From Table 5)

TABLE 6

Central City Households With No Automobile and Workers Who Live In Central Cities and Use Transit for the Journey to Work, By Race: 1970 and 1980

	1970		1980	
	Negro	White	Black	White
Central City Households	3,832,227	17,230,263*	5,044,175	18,735,649
With No Automobile	1,807,115	4,186,572*	1,967,046	3,469,325
Percent	47.2%	24.3%	39.0%	18.5%
Central City Workers	4,319,770	19,393,341	5,223,030	21,410,330
Use Transit to Work	1,492,468	3,258,635	1,321,740	2,322,899
Percent	34.7%	16.9%	25.3%	10.8%
Workers Per Household	1.13	1.13	1.04	1.14

Sources: 1960 Census of Population, U.S. Summary, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Table 122
 1980 Census of Population, U.S. Summary, Detailed Characteristics, Tables 85, 84
 1980 Census of Housing, U.S. Summary, Detailed Characteristics, Tables 81, 83, 84
 1970 Census of Population, Special Subject Report, Low-Income Population, Table 26
 1970 Census of Housing, U.S. Summary, Detailed, Characteristics, Tables 33, 37

* Derived by multiplying non-negro households by .982. Number of white households with no automobile is probably slightly overstated as a consequence.

Table 6A

Central City Households With No Automobile and Workers Who Live In Central Cities and Use Transit for the Journey to Work, By Race, 17 SMSA's: 1970 & 1980

		1970		1980	
		Negro	White	Black	White
NEW YORK	Workers With No Autos	72.8%	54.0%	69.3%	53.0%
	Workers Using Transit	71.1%	57.0%	66.3%	51.6%
CHICAGO	Workers With No Auto	49.7%	35.4%	45.1%	32.7%
	Workers Using Transit	42.2%	30.9%	38.0%	29.6%
DETROIT	Workers With No Auto	37.5%	44.1%	21.2%	31.8%
	Workers Using Transit	26.3%	12.6%	15.8%	6.4%
PHILADELPHIA	Workers With No Auto	55.3%	39.7%	50.9%	31.1%
	Workers Using Transit	49.0%	28.7%	42.7%	24.0%
LOS ANGELES	Workers With No Auto	30.3%	20.1%	28.1%	13.6%
	Workers Using Transit	16.4%	7.3%	16.6%	7.5%
WASHINGTON	Workers With No Auto	47.2%	54.6%	40.6%	31.6%
	Workers Using Transit	40.3%	26.8%	40.6%	33.2%
HOUSTON	Workers With No Auto	32.0%	14.1%	19.7%	5.5%
	Workers Using Transit	19.0%	4.0%	10.5%	2.6%
BALTIMORE	Workers With No Auto	67.8%	41.1%	41.8%	13.4%
	Workers Using Transit	37.5%	17.0%	35.6%	15.2%
NEW ORLEANS	Workers With No Auto	54.7%	37.3%	42.4%	20.8%
	Workers Using Transit	43.5%	22.6%	28.9%	13.9%
MEMPHIS	Workers With No Auto	46.6%	22.1%	32.5%	7.4%
	Workers Using Transit	25.7%	4.6%	13.3%	4.5%
ATLANTA	Workers With No Auto	43.6%	28.7%	40.0%	17.1%
	Workers Using Transit	33.0%	9.8%	32.3%	13.5%
DALLAS	Workers With No Auto	31.8%	14.1%	22.2%	6.8%
	Workers Using Transit	22.7%	6.9%	16.4%	5.2%
CLEVELAND	Workers With No Auto	40.4%	31.7%	36.9%	23.9%
	Workers Using Transit	28.3%	13.4%	25.8%	15.5%
ST. LOUIS	Workers With No Auto	48.7%	38.1%	39.4%	26.1%
	Workers Using Transit	28.3%	15.5%	29.0%	12.8%
NEWARK	Workers With No Auto	59.1%	51.5%	53.8%	38.2%
	Workers Using Transit	42.3%	31.1%	33.0%	17.8%

6A (Cont'd)

BOSTON	Workers With No Auto	63.7%	40.6%	51.3%	40.5%
	Workers Using Transit	49.3%	36.7%	41.7%	30.7%
SAN FRAN.	Workers With No Auto	39.6%	19.3%	42.8%	33.3%
	Workers Using Transit	38.6%	34.7%	39.5%	36.6%

*Workers From Households without Autos Does not reflect possible (or even probable) differences in the number of workers per household in those households with and without autos.

Source: U.S. Census, Low Income Areas in Large Cities, 1970 Table 3
 U.S. Census, Detailed Housing Characteristics, 1970, Tables 44-46
 U.S. Census, Detailed Housing Characteristics, 1980, Tables 55-56

TABLE 7

Workers Living In Central Cities Who Use Transit For the Journey to Work,
By Regions By Race: 1980

	U.S.		N.E.		N.C.	
	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
Total Workers	5,223,030	21,410,330	1,205,348	4,751,350	1,291,594	5,235,303
Use Transit	1,346,604	2,365,947	596,093	1,323,403	286,464	483,331
% Transit	25.8%	11.1%	49.5%	27.9%	22.2%	9.2%

	South		West	
	Black	White	Black	White
Total Workers	2,276,608	6,634,902	505,956	5,061,376
Use Transit	388,360	231,235	81,436	341,223
% Transit	17.1%	3.5%	16.1%	6.7%

Source: Census of Population 1980, General Social & Economic Characteristics, Table 122

Table 7A

Workers Living in Central Cities Who Use Transit for the Journey to Work,
By SMSAs By Race: 17 SMSA's, 1980

	U.S.		New York City		Chicago		Detroit		Philadelphia	
	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
Total Workers	5223030	21314837	623489	1887939	369792	705658	212378	154775	193717	398766
use Transit	1346604	2365947	413432	974486	140465	208523	33479	9886	82743	95802
% Transit	25.8%	11.1%	66.3%	51.6%	38.0%	29.6%	15.8%	6.4%	42.7%	24.0%

	Los Angeles		Washington DC		Houston		Baltimore		New Orleans	
	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
Total Workers	180655	901110	185133	100044	190036	541202	147683	145122	99530	110653
use Transit	30020	67208	75234	33255	20014	14175	52544	22047	28748	15394
% Transit	16.6%	7.5%	40.6%	33.2%	10.5%	2.6%	35.6%	15.2%	28.9%	13.9%

	Memphis		Atlanta		Dallas		Cleveland		St. Louis	
	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
Total Workers	96764	163912	100468	68214	112971	306642	80622	121004	63934	102545
use Transit	13362	7453	32309	9182	18512	16009	20619	18709	17908	13093
% Transit	13.8%	4.5%	32.2%	13.5%	16.4%	5.2%	25.6%	15.5%	28.0%	12.8%

	Newark		Boston		San Francisco	
	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
Total Workers	55340	41207	47168	194636	32210	213711
use Transit	18265	7322	19649	59792	12707	78162
% Transit	33.0%	17.8%	41.7%	30.7%	39.5%	36.6%

Source: U.S. Census, Detailed Housing Characteristics, 1970, Tables 44-46
U.S. Census, Detailed Housing Characteristics, 1980, Tables 55-56

TABLE 8

Distribution of Households in Central Cities With no Auto Available and
Distribution of Workers in Central Cities Using Transit for the
Journey to Work By Race: 1960, 1970, 1980

	1960		1970		1980	
	Non-White	White	Negro	Non-Negro	Black	White
% No Automobile	53.7	28.8	47.2	22.8	39.0	18.5
% Using Transit	N.A.	N.A.	34.3	17.1	25.8	11.1

TABLE 9

Central City Workers Using Public Transportation For the Journey
To Work By Race: 1970, 1980

	1970		1980	
	Negro	White	Black	White
Total CC Transit Users	1,229,073	2,862,666	1,346,604	2,365,947
Change, 1970-1980			+ 117,531	- 496,721
% of All C.C. Workers	34.3	17.1	25.8	11.1
% of All Workers Who Live in Central Cities	43.7	24.2	56.0	25.4
	1970	1980		
Blacks as a % of All Transit Users	30.0	36.3		
Blacks as a % of All Central City Workers	17.6	19.6		

TABLE 10

Percent Distribution of Black and White SMSA Workers by Means Of Travel To Work and Sex: 1980

	Live In Central City						Live In Ring					
	Work In Central City			Work In			Work In Central City			Work In		
	In CBD		Elsewhere	Ring			In CBD		Elsewhere	Ring		
	B	W	B	W	B	W	B	W	B	W	B	W
Male												
Drive Alone	48.5	52.0	55.4	65.7	63.8	74.0	58.8	56.9	68.5	74.5	59.7	71.9
Car Pool	12.8	14.1	16.0	13.8	24.1	19.3	20.0	20.3	20.8	19.8	21.5	16.4
Public Transit	35.2	24.4	17.1	7.9	9.0	2.9	19.7	21.5	7.3	3.6	3.9	.9
Other*	6.2	9.4	9.5	12.6	3.1	3.8	1.5	1.3	3.4	2.1	14.8	10.8
Total	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0
Female												
Drive Alone	28.5	38.0	42.0	57.5	52.1	70.0	41.3	44.0	59.8	69.5	55.1	69.1
Car Pool	17.0	19.7	19.8	17.6	28.0	23.0	23.6	28.2	25.7	24.2	26.9	18.4
Public Transit	51.0	34.9	29.6	10.8	18.1	4.8	34.1	26.9	12.9	4.9	7.8	1.6
Other*	3.5	7.4	8.6	14.1	1.8	2.2	.9	.9	1.6	1.3	10.2	10.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0

* Includes all other forms of travel and those working at home

Source: 1980 Census of Population, U.S. Summary, Detailed Characteristics, Table 291

TABLE 14

Distribution of Transit Work Trips By Blacks and Whites In SMSA's By Destination and Sex: 1980

	From Central City			From Ring		
	To Central City		To Ring	To Central City		To Ring
	CBD	Elsewhere		CBD	Elsewhere	
Totals	958,115	1,997,349	209,869	509,631	449,560	350,461
Black	24.8	38.6	44.7	6.6	14.2	19.7
Male	8.0	14.4	18.0	1.9	5.2	7.2
Female	16.8	24.2	26.7	4.7	9.0	12.5
White	75.2	61.4	55.3	93.4	85.8	80.3
Male	30.4	29.0	28.0	46.5	45.9	35.0
Female	44.8	32.4	27.3	46.9	39.9	45.3
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: 1980 Census of Population, U.S. Summary, Detailed Characteristics, Table 291

TABLE 12

Distribution of Public Transit Work Trips In SMSA's By Race and Sex: 1980

	Totals	From Central City			From Ring		
		To Central City		To	To Central City		To
				Ring			Ring
		To CBD	Elsewhere		To CBD	Elsewhere	
Black							
Male	459,440	76,309	287,496	37,689	9,527	23,310	25,110
%	100.0%	16.6%	62.6%	8.2%	2.1%	5.1%	5.5%
Female	807,122	160,709	482,271	55,984	23,789	40,486	43,883
%	99.9%	19.9%	59.3%	6.9%	2.9%	5.0%	5.4%
White							
Male	1,496,515	291,623	579,739	58,864	237,057	206,397	122,835
%	99.9%	19.5%	38.7%	3.9%	15.8%	13.8%	8.2%
Female	1,711,908	429,474	647,843	57,333	239,258	179,367	158,633
%	100.0%	25.1%	37.8%	3.3%	14.0%	10.5%	9.3%
Totals	4,474,985	985,115	1,997,349	209,969	509,631	449,560	350,461
%	99.9%	21.4%	44.6%	4.7%	11.4%	10.0%	7.8%

Source: 1980 Census of Population, U.S. Summary, Detailed Characteristics, Table 291

Table 13

Labor Force Participation and Transit Use By Central City Black Workers in
17 Selected Cities: 1980

	Black Workers As a Percent Of:		
	Black Pop.	All Wkrs.	All Transit Users
=====			
*NEW YORK	34.9%	24.8%	29.8%
*CHICAGO	30.9%	34.4%	40.2%
DETROIT	28.0%	57.8%	77.2%
*PHILADELPHIA	30.3%	32.7%	46.3%
LOS ANGELES	35.8%	16.7%	30.9%
*WASHINGTON	41.2%	64.9%	69.3%
HOUSTON	43.2%	26.0%	58.5%
BALTIMORE	34.3%	50.4%	70.4%
NEW ORLEANS	32.3%	47.4%	65.1%
MEMPHIS	31.4%	37.1%	64.2%
*ATLANTA	35.5%	59.6%	77.9%
DALLAS	42.5%	26.9%	53.6%
*CLEVELAND	32.1%	40.0%	52.4%
ST. LOUIS	31.0%	38.4%	57.8%
NEWARK	28.9%	57.3%	71.4%
*BOSTON	37.4%	19.5%	24.7%
*SAN FRANCISCO	37.3%	13.1%	14.0%

* Have Rail Transit